

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5534

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 1692

FOR EUR/RPM (KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, OCON  
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S CONCLUDING SPPECH

REF: STATE 52049

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECOND DRAFT OF CLOSING  
PLENARY STATEMENT BY JUSTICE GOLDBERG, EDITED BY HIM  
AND IN CONFORMITY WITH COMMENTS IN REFTEL. REQUEST  
STATE DEPARTMENT COMMENTS AT EARLIEST CONVENIENCE, BUT  
PREFERABLY FOR THURSDAY, MARCH 2 ARRIVAL IN BELGRADE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

THE BELGRADE MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-  
OPERATION IN EUROPE -- THE FIRST FORMAL SEQUEL TO THE HELSINKI SUM-  
MIT -- IS NOW AT ITS END. IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES, THE MEETING HAS BEEN LARGELY SUCCESSFUL.

IN THESE PAST MONTHS -- WITH THE SUPPORT OF OUR GRACIOUS,  
PATIENT YUGOSLAV HOSTS AND THROUGH THE CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORTS OF THE  
DELEGATES -- OUR MEETING HAS CONFIRMED THE VITALITY OF THE HELSINKI  
CONCEPT. AS DELEGATES, WE HAVE DONE MORE THAN SIMPLY DISPOSE OF A  
DEMANDING PROGRAM OF WORK. BEYOND THAT, WE HAVE DRAWN THE OUTLINES  
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OF THE LONG, EVEN MORE ARDUOUS PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATING SECURITY  
AND COOPERATION FOR THE FUTURE.

WE HAVE HAD THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS OF WHICH THE FINAL ACT MANDATES  
ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PROVISIONS AND ON THE PROSPECTS  
FOR IMPROVED MUTUAL RELATIONS. WE HAVE SPOKEN OUR OWN MINDS AND  
HAVE HEARD OUT THE OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO DIFFER FROM US.

IN DOING SO, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE A SOBER ASSESSMENT OF

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS, CONTINUING SHORTCOMINGS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES. WE HAVE AGREED TO RESUME THIS DISCOURSE IN MADRID IN 1980, CONSCIOUS THAT WE FACE MUCH UNFINISHED BUSINESS BETWEEN NOW AND THEM.

AT OUR OPENING PLENARY IN OCTOBER, I SAID THAT "OUR SUCCESS WILL BE MEASURED NOT SOLELY BY WORDS ON PAPER, BUT RATHER BY WHAT WE ALL DO" AFTER BELGRADE TO "GIVE THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION DIRECTION, HIGHER GOALS AND FRESH MOMENTUM." THAT HAS BEEN OUR TASK SINCE THE SUMMIT IN HELSINKI. IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE FOR MANY YEARS TO COME.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS VIEWED THE FULFILLMENT OF FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS AS PART OF A GRADUAL, BUT STEADILY ADVANCING PROCESS OF BRIDGING THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE. THE CONTRIBUTION OF CSCE HAS BEEN TO ENGAGE 35 STATES -- DIFFERENT IN SIZE AND SYSTEM, HISTORY AND OUTLOOK -- IN THAT VITAL EFFORT. THE ROLE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS BEEN TO DEEPEN THAT ENGAGEMENT AND TO MAKE SPECIFIC THE CONDUCT WHICH IT ENTAILS.

FROM OUR TALKS HAS EMERGED A CLEAR SENSE OF THE DIRECTIONS IN WHICH DETENTE CAN MOST PROFITABLY DEVELOP. WE HAVE SEEN, IN PARTICULAR, THE NEED TO BALANCE THE MANY ASPECTS OF THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP IN ORDER FOR THE WHOLE TO PROSPER. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS MUST FIND EXPRESSION IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY SECURITY, AND REDUCTION OF ARMED CONFRONTATION MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE EXPANSION OF EVERY-DAY EASE OF CONTACT. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION --  
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AND OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW OF ITS PROGRESS -- LIE PRECISELY IN COMBINING THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF DETENTE IN A COHERENT, RELATED WHOLE.

LAST OCTOBER I ALSO SPOKE OF GIVING DETENTE A "HUMANITARIAN FACE AND A HUMAN MEASURE." THAT HAS, INDEED, BEEN ONE TO REPRESENT GOVERNMENTS, WE HAVE MANAGED TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE AS WELL AS OF POWER. WE HAVE WEIGHED THE CLAIMS OF INDIVIDUALS, NOT JUST THE INTERESTS OF STATES.

THUS WE EXPLORED THE PROMISES MADE AT HELSINKI TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF DIVIDED FAMILIES, TO BETTER THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN, SCIENTISTS, JOURNALISTS, SCHOLARS AND PERFORMERS WORK, TO IMPROVE THE TREATMENT OF MIGRANT WORKERS, TO EXPAND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR TOURISTS TO KNOW THE CULTURES OF OTHER NATIONS. FOR THESE QUESTIONS WHICH TOUCH THE LIVES OF PEOPLE ARE ALSO A TOUCHSTONE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONFIDENCE AMONG NATIONS.

THE FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF SUCH QUESTIONS, MOREOVER, DOES MUCH TO CREATE THE CLIMATE OF OPENNESS IN WHICH DETENTE ITSELF WILL FLOURISH. A DETENTE RELATIONSHIP WHICH BETTERS THE LOT OF INDIVIDUALS AND SMOOTHES CONTACT BETWEEN THEM IS ALSO CERTAIN TO IMPROVE THE TIES BETWEEN STATES.

CONCURRENTLY AND IN THE SAME FRAMEWORK OF SEEKING TO

CONSOLIDATE A BALANCED POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE, WE HAVE WORKED TO IMPROVE SECURITY IN EUROPE. ALTHOUGH CSCE WAS NOT CONCEIVED AS A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, WE HAVE ALL RECOGNIZED THE IMPETUS IT CAN GIVE TO THAT VITAL PROCESS. EXPRESSIONS OF POLITICAL WILL CONTRIBUTE IN A GENERAL WAY; COMMITMENTS TO GREATER OPENNESS ABOUT MILITARY ACTIVITIES ADD SPECIFIC WEIGHT TO THE PROCESS OF REDUCING CONFRONTATION. OUR WORK AT BELGRADE HAS BEEN TO EXAMINE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH SPECIFIC CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE CONVICTION THAT THEIR ADVANCE CAN CONCRETELY REDUCE THE VERY MISTRUST WHICH IMPEDES PROGRESS TOWARDS ARMS REDUCTION AND DISARMAMENT.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5535

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CRUCIALLY, OF COURSE, OUR MEETING DEALT AT LENGTH WITH THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. OUR CITIZENS' FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF, THEIR ABILITY TO EXERCISE THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS EFFECTIVELY -- INDIVIDUALLY OR IN GROUPS -- RAISED SENSITIVE ISSUES AT BELGRADE. THEIR SENSITIVITY WAS PART OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. OUR MEETING WAS THE FIRST TO PUT THOSE QUESTIONS PROMINENTLY INTO THE FRAMEWORK OF MULTILATERAL, EAST-WEST DIPLOMACY.

THE RECOGNITION WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN TO THE PROBLEM OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A MAJOR ADVANCE IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR STATES. IN THESE PAST WEEKS WE HAVE TAKEN A FIRST STEP, BUT A CRUCIAL ONE TOWARD A WORLD ORDER IN WHICH THE "INHERENT DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON", RECOGNIZED IN PRINCIPLE VII, IS ALSO RECOGNIZED AS A MEASURE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION.

THAT IDEA IS A POWERFUL ONE, AND AT BELGRADE IT HAS WON POWERFUL SUPPORT. IT HAS ALSO AROUSED STRONG OPPOSITION.

OVER AND OVER AGAIN WE HAVE HEARD THE CONTENTION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE PURELY INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THAT TO DISCUSS THEIR OBSERVANCE IN ANOTHER NATION IS TO VIOLATE THAT NATION'S SOVEREIGNTY, TO INTERFERE IN MATTERS THAT ARE NO OUTSIDER'S CONCERN.

THE FINAL ACT REFUTES THAT REASONING. THE BELGRADE  
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MEETING HAS MADE IT UNTENABLE.

BY VIRTUE OF PRINCIPLE VII, HUMAN RIGHTS ARE DIRECT CONCERNS OF ALL FINAL ACT SIGNATORIES. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS -- AS WELL AS THE FINAL ACT -- THEY ARE THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS. THEY ARE THEN, WITHOUT QUESTION, THE PROPER SUBJECT OF THE DIPLOMATIC EXAMINATION AND DEBATE WE HAVE HAD IN BELGRADE. AND THEY WILL REMAIN, AFTER BELGRADE, THE PROPER FOCUS OF CONTINUING COMMENT AND EFFORTS BY THE UNITED STATES.

FOR THE PURSUIT OF LIBERTY IS AN UNENDING ENTERPRISE FOR MAN, THE SUREST GUARANTEE OF THIS SECURITY AND OF PEACE. WHAT THE FINAL ACT OBLIGED US ALL TO PURSUE IS WHAT ALEKSANDR PUSHKIN DEFINED LONG AGO AS A "BETTER KIND OF FREEDOM". THAT, HE WROTE, IS THE FREEDOM "TO GIVE A RECKONING TO NO ONE... AND NOT TO BOW YOUR CONSCIENCE, THOUGHT OR NECK TO RANK OF POWER..." THAT CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY IS STILL THE VISION OFFERED BY US BY THE FINAL ACT, THE VISION ALL OF US PLEDGED TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE.

WE KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT NOT ALL OF US HAVE FULFILLED THAT PLEDGE IN FULL OR IN GOOD FAITH. THE TREATMENT OF MANY OF THE MORE THAN 900 SIGNERS OF CHARTER '77 -- INCLUDING THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF THREE OF ITS SYMPATHIZERS THIS YEAR-- IS ONE DISTURBING, CONTINUING EXAMPLE OF DISRESPECT FOR THE STRICTURES OF PRINCIPLE VII. THE IMPRISONMENT, EXILE AND PSYCHIATRIC CONFINEMENT OF 14 OF THE 43 ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF THE PUBLIC GROUPS TO PROMOTE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT IN THE USSR BETRAYS A SINGULAR, PROVOCATE DISREGARD FOR THE FINAL ACT.

OUR MEETING CANNOT OVERLOOK SUCH EPISODES. THE MEN AND WOMEN NOW SUFFERING THE REPRESSION I MENTION TODAY, AS I HAVE DONE ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, SOUGHT ONLY TO  
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ADVANCE FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION. THEIR ACTIVITY IS ENCOURAGED BY THE FINAL ACT. IT MUST BE PROTECTED, NOT PUNISHED.

SIMILARLY, IN OUR REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WE COULD NOT GLOSS OVER -- AND CANNOT NOW -- THE PLIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN PERSECUTED FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND FOR TRYING TO PASS THOSE BELIEFS ON TO THEIR CHILDREN. NOR CAN WE BE SILENT NOW -- OR IN THE FUTURE -- WHEN NUMBERS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE DENIED THEIR EQUALITY, PARTICULARLY IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO THEIR SPECIAL IDENTITY.

EASTERN DELEGATIONS, HOWEVER, WANT US TO PRETEND THAT SUCH QUESTIONS ARE IRRELEVANT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, INTRUSIVE AT THIS MEETING AND INJURIOUS -- IF DISCUSSED -- TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE. WE LIVE HOWEVER, IN THE REAL WORLD, NOT ONE OF MAKE-BELIEVE. WE CANNOT MAKE OUR WORLD A BETTER ONE IF WE TURN A BLIND EYE TO ITS FAULTS.

THOSE FAULTS -- JUST AS MUCH AS OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND OPPORTUNITIES -- WERE THE LEGITIMATE SUBJECT OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW. THAT REVIEW DEALT PRODUCTIVELY WITH REAL SHORTCOMINGS IN FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION SO THAT FROM OUR EXAMINATION WE COULD EACH AND ALL MOVE TO REMEDIAL ACTION.

THAT ACTION IS STILL REQUIRED OF US. UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS NOT DETAILED BY AGREEMENT IN THE MEETING'S CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

MY DELEGATION HAS BEEN FULLY AWARE FROM THE OUTSET OF THE BELGRADE MEETING OF THOSE EASTERN DELEGATIONS WHO DID NOT EVEN WANT TO EXAMINE THE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION IN DETAIL. INDEED, ONCE THE EXAMINATION BEGAN, THERE WERE THOSE WHO REFUSED TO ENGAGE IN IT WITH SERIOUSNESS IT MERITED.

AND WHEN THE MEETING SOUGHT TO SUM UP ITS ACTUAL FINDINGS -- TO GIVE AN HONEST ASSESSMENT OF THE FLAWED, BUT STILL HOPEFUL PATTERN OF IMPLEMENTATION -- THOSE DELEGATIONS PREVENTED THE REST OF US FROM MAKING THE TRUTH A MATTER OF RECORD. FINALLY, THEY BLOCKED THE MEETING FROM THE CONSENSUS IT COULD HAVE REACHED ON MANY, CONFIDENTIAL

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WORTHY, CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR CSCE ENDEAVOR.

THEIR INTRANSIGENCE HAS, AT LEAST, BEEN CONSISTENT. BUT THEIR MANEUVERS TO SQUELCH THE TRUTH AT BELGRADE OR AT HOME WILL NOT CHANGE THE TRUTH. AND IT WILL NOT DEFLECT THE UNITED STATES, FOR ONE, FROM INSISTING THAT CANDOR IS AS IMPORTANT TO THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AS IT RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5536

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 BELGRADE 1692

CANDOR AND RESPECT MUST BE COMPANION ELEMENTS IN THE PURSUIT OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION. THE FOUNDATION LAID DOWN IN THE FINAL ACT -- AUGMENTED BY THE RECORD MADE AT BELGRADE -- ENABLES US TO BUILD AN EVER FIRMER STRUCTURE OF DETENTE. YET OUR FIRST PRIORITY -- ALWAYS OUR OVERRIDING CHALLENGE -- REMAINS SIMPLY TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT IN ALL OF ITS PARTS, TO DO SO IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH APPROPRIATE SPEED. THE INITIAL PACE IS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE FACT OF CONTINUING, FORWARD MOVEMENT.

FROM BELGRADE, THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO MOVE FORWARD. MY COUNTRY HAS HAD ITS PERFORMANCE QUESTIONED HERE, AND SOME OF THAT QUESTIONING HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. IT WILL AID MY COUNTRY TO IMPROVE ITS RECORD.

MY DELEGATION HAS ALSO TAKEN CAREFUL NOTE OF THE THOUGHTFUL IDEAS ADVANCED BY MANY DELEGATIONS FOR PROGRAMS OF ACTION CONSONANT WITH THE THRUST AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. SOME CAN BE SET IN MOTION BY UNILATERAL ACTION; MANY CAN BE REFINED AND READIED FOR DECISION IN MADRID. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE CONSTRUCTIVELY IN SUCH ENTERPRISES.

IN THE AREA OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN IN PRACTICE HOW STATES CAN BUILD FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT TO IMPLEMENT ITS SPIRIT. IN  
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NOTIFYING SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS, IN MAKING NOTIFICATIONS AMPLY INFORMATIVE AND IN AFFORDING OBSERVERS GOOD OVERALL VIEWS OF MANEUVERS, SOME STATES HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE OTHERS CAN PRODUCTIVELY EMULATE. SUCH EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE; IT REMAINS TO BE APPLIED TO MAJOR TROOP MOVEMENTS. IN GENERAL, MOREOVER, WE CAN ALL THINK AFRESH ABOUT WAYS OF "DEVELOPING AND ENLARGING MEASURES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE," A POSSIBILITY

THE FINAL ACT EXPLICITLY SETS BEFORE US.

FURTHER, IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION, OUR FRANK DISCUSSIONS HAVE REINFORCED THE AWARENESS OF THE NEED TO REDUCE -- INDEED, THROUGH MUTUAL ACTION, TO ELIMINATE -- EXISTING IMPEDIMENTS TO TRADE. THE POTENTIAL FOR COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD IS GREAT, AND THE UNITED STATES IS FULLY PREPARED TO EXPLORE THE MANY POSSIBILITIES FOR PRODUCTIVE UNILATERAL AND RECIPROCAL ACTION. IN SUCH AN ENDEAVOR, OF COURSE, OTHER STATES MUST ALSO ENGAGE IN EXPANDING THE FLOW OF TIMELY AND ACCURATE ECONOMIC INFORMATION ON WHICH CLOSE, BROADENED CONTACTS AMONG TRADERS AND INVESTORS SO HEAVILY DEPEND.

THE FINAL ACT PROVISIONS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND TRAVEL OFFER ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THE POSITIVE IMPACT UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION CAN HAVE. THE WELCOME INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SOVIET CITIZENS ALLOWED EXIT VISAS -- JUST DURING THE MONTHS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING -- HAS BEEN NOTED IN MY COUNTRY. WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT THE NEW PATTERN WILL PROVE CONSISTENT THIS YEAR AND NEXT AND THAT WE WILL SHORTLY SEE, AS WELL, THE FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF MANY, LONG-STANDING, TRAGIC, DIVIDED-FAMILY CASES.

WE HAVE LEARNED IN OUR REVIEW AT BELGRADE THAT THE FINAL ACT HAS STIMULATED EASTERN NATIONS TO LOWER THE TIME AND EXPENSE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN EXIT VISAS. WE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO EXPECT

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THAT STIMULUS TO PROVIDE WIDER HUMANITARIAN RESULTS. MEANWHILE, OTHER STATES -- INCLUDING MY OWN -- HAVE A CONCURRENT OBLIGATION TO REDUCE THEIR IMPEDIMENTS TO THE ENTRY OF VISITORS.

IF THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS AIDED THE FLOW OF PEOPLE, IT HAS YET TO MAKE A SIMILAR IMPACT ON THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION. TOO MANY EASTERN STATES CONTINUE TO IMPEDE ACCESS TO WHAT MANY OF THEIR CITIZENS WANT TO READ AND SEE AND HEAR. WESTERN STATES PROVIDE FULL ACCESS BUT HAVE BEEN, IN SOME CASES, INDIFFERENT TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF STIMULATING THEIR CITIZENS' INTEREST IN INFORMATION FROM ABROAD. THE BURDEN OF REMEDIAL ACTION IS UNEVEN, BUT THE NEED FOR IT IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

FINALLY, THERE IS MUCH WE CAN DO IN BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COOPERATION TO WIDEN THE RANGE AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF CONTACTS AMONG SCIENTISTS AND SCHOLARS, MEN OF LETTERS AND OF THE ARTS. INTERESTED STATES CAN, FOR EXAMPLE, WORK ON THEIR OWN OR THROUGH UNESCO TO PROMOTE SPECIAL OBSERVANCES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE. SIMILARLY, THE WAY IS OPEN TO ANY AND ALL OF US TO WORK TOGETHER TO STIMULATE THE STUDY OF EACH OTHER'S LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND ART.

ONE PROJECT IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS CLEARLY NOT RIPE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION IN BELGRADE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CSCE BODY TO SERVE AS A CLEARING-HOUSE FOR GATHERING, INVESTIGATING AND WEIGHING INFORMATION RELATED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PRINCIPLE VII. IN THE TIME BETWEEN BELGRADE AND MADRID, HOWEVER, THE PROSPECTS OF SUCH A HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCY DESERVE OUR CLOSE CONSIDERATION. THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PROMOTING BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL EXAMINATION OF THE ADVANTAGES SUCH AS A COMMISSION OFFERS TO THE CSCE PROCESS, INTENT ON EXPLORING BOTH THE POTENTIAL AND THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE IDEA.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5537

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BELGRADE HAS OPENED THE WAY TO MANY SUCH OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVED CONTACT, UNDERSTANDING AND JOINT ACTION. THAT IS PART OF ITS SUCCESS. THE PROGRESS WE ACHIEVE ALONG THOSE PATHS BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID -- AND IN SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS -- WILL BE ONE SOLID MEASURE OF THE DISTANCE WE HAVE PUT BETWEEN US AND THE OLD DISTRUST AND DIVISIONS WHICH HAUNTED EUROPE AND THE WORLD.

THE SUREST WAY TO ELIMINATE THOSE RELICS OF OUR BITTER PAST, HOWEVER, IS THROUGH THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT ITSELF. BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID ALL OF US WILL BE MONITORING PROGRESS, ENCOURAGING EVERYTHING WHICH AIDS IT, CONDEMNING EVERYTHING WHICH IMPEDES IT.

THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESPECIALLY ATTENTIVE TO THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE ARE CASES OF INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THOSE I HAVE SPECIFIED -- BY NAME AND BY COUNTRY -- IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WHICH NOW AROUSE THE GREATEST ANXIETY. BUT OUR CONCERN IS NOT LIMITED



TO ONE COUNTRY OR ONE SET OF INDIVIDUALS.

"INJUSTICE ANYWHERE," SAID MARTIN LUTHER KING, "IS THE ENEMY  
OF JUSTICE EVERYWHERE." THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE PEACE  
WE ALL SEEK FOR EUROPE CAN ONLY BE BUILT TO LAST IF IT IS BUILT  
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IN JUSTICE.

THE FINAL ACT ENSHRINES THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE -- NOT PRIVILEGE  
OR POWER -- RULING THE AFFAIRS OF MEN AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN  
STATES. THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS REAFFIRMED THAT CENTRAL TENET  
IN THE CONTEXT OF DETENTE IN EUROPE. PEACE, WE HAVE SEEN,  
DEPENDS ON THE JUST CONDUCT OF NATIONS TO EACH OTHER AND TO  
THEIR OWN CITIZENS.

HELSINKI AROUSED GREAT HOPES. BELGRADE HAS SHOWN US SOME  
OF THE WAYS IN WHICH TO ANSWER THEM. IN MADRID LET US SHOW  
THAT WE HAVE TAKEN UP THE CHALLENGE AND BEGUN TO MEET IT.  
END TEXT.  
GOLDBERG

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